

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

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INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

S E C R E T TEHRAN 9257

EXDIS

SECTO 356

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP

SUBJ: SECRETARY'S TALKS WITH BHUTTO

1. SUMMARY: SECRETARY MET WITH PRIMI MINISTER BHUTTO AFTER-NOON OCTOBER 31 FOR TALKS WITH SENIOR AIDES PRESENT ON BOTH SIDES. TALKS FOCUSED ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, PARTICULARLY OUTLOOK FOR NEGOTIATIONS IN MIDDLE EAST, PLUS EXPOSITION BY BHUTTO ON HIS RESERVATIONS ABOUT INDIAN INTENTIONS IN SUB-CONTINENT. MILITARY SUPPLY ISSUE REFERRED TO, BUT NOT BE-LABORED, BY BHUTTO IN CONTEXT HIS STRESSING NEED FOR STRENGTH IN ORDER PURSUE SUCCESSFULLY BETTER RELATIONS WITH INDIA. BHUTTO ALSO DISCUSSED PAK ECONOMIC PROBLEMS BUT DID NOT RAISE BILATERAL ECONOMIC AID QUESTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. BHUTTO EXPRESSED WARM WELCOME TO SECRETARY AND PARTICULAR APPRECIATION THAT MRS. KISSINGER HAD ACCOMPANIED HIM. BHUTTO OBSERVED THAT PAKISTAN HAD NO REAL PROBLEMS IN RELATIONS

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WITH ITS GOOD FRIEND AND ALLY THE UNITED STATES.

3. RE SUBCONTINENT, BHUTTO DESCRIBED SOME OF HIS RESERVATIONS ABOUT INDIAN INTENTIONS. HE SAID INDIA'S HISTORY WAS EVIDENCE OF ITS ALWAYS SEEKING TO "THRUST OUT" AND SIKKIM WAS LATEST EXAMPLE. HE THOUGHT THAT HAVING TAKEN BANGLADESH, INDIANS WOULD HAVE BENEFITED FROM ADVICE OF PROVERB, "ONCE BITTEN, TWICH SHY," BUT THIS HAD NOT BEEN THE CASE. THEREFORE PAKISTAN HAD CAUSE TO BE WORRIED. HE WOULD WORK FOR GOOD RELATIONS WITH INDIA, BUT THIS REQUIRED THAT PAKISTAN BE STRONG ENOUGH TO PROTECT ITSELF; IT WAS NOT THAT PAKISTAN WANTED TOYS, SINCE AFTER ALL PAKISTANS HAD EXPERIENCED DOMINANCE BY MILITARY REGIME, AND THEY NOW WANTED TO KEEP ARMY FROM HAVING POLITICAL POWER. BUT PAKISTAN'S SECRTY CAME FIRST AND THIS WAS WHY PAKISTAN SOUGHT "SUFFICIENT" ARMS TO PERMIT IT TO DEFEND ITSELF WITHOUT OUTSIDE SUPPORT. SECRETARY ASSURED BHUTTO WE DID NOT WANT TO SEE AN INSECURE PAKISTAN AND REAFFIRMED STRONG US SUPPORT FOR PAKISTAN'S INTEGRITY.

4. BHUTTO'S ONLY REFERENCE TO SIMLA NEGOTIATIONS WAS IN CONTEXT COMMENT ABOUT INCREASING "ARROGANCE" ON PART OF INFIAN LEADERSHIP. THIS REQUIRED A GREAT DEAL OF MENTAL DISCIPLINE BY PAKS IN CONTINUING TO PURSUE NEGOTIATIONS WITH INDIA. IN THIS RESPECT MRS. GANDHI WAS LESS A PROBLEM THAN HER ENTOURAGE, CITING PARTICULARLY ATTITUDE OF KEWAL SINGH DURING RECENT ISLAMABAD TALKS WHEN SINGH, IN BHUTTO'S VIEW, SHOWED TOTAL LACK OF APPRECIATION OF PAKISTAN'S CONCERN OVER INDIAN NUCLEAR TEST. IN LATTER CONNECTION SECRETARY NOTED PUBLIC AFFIRMATION IN JOINT STATEMENT FOLLOWING HIS DELHI VISIT THAT INDIA DID NOT INTEND TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS. SECRETARY SAID THIS ABVIOUSLY COULD NOT BE A TOTAL ASSURANCE BUT THAT THERE WAS ADVANTAGE TO BE GAINED IN CONTINUING TO SEEK TO HOLD INDIANS TO THEIR OWN STATMENTS IN THIS PUBLIC FASHION.

5. BHUTTO MADE REFERENCE TO PROBLEMS WITH AFGHANISTAN IN CONTEXT OF DESCRIPTION OF EFFORT HE MAKING IN BALUCHI-STAN TO BREAK POWER OF TRIBAL SARDARS; HE FELT HE HAD NOW FINALLY BROKEN BACK OF THIS REMNANT OF FUEDALISM. THEREFORE WHEN SECRETARY SAW DAOUD IN KABUL HE COULD KEEP THIS FACT IN MIND. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION FROM SECRETARY AS TO WHAT HE MIGHT SAY TO DAOUD, BHUTTO SAID HE COULD ASSURE HIM THAT PAKISTAN

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WAS ALWAYS INTERESTED IN DISCUSSION AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH A VIEW TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. PAKISTAN WAS READY TO NEGOTIATE BUT HE WAS NOT READY TO GIVE AWAY HIS COUNTRY.

6. SECRETARY ASKED BHUTTO, DURING DISCUSSION OF PAKISTAN'S RELATIONS WITH IRAN, WHICH BHUTTO DESCRIBED AS VERY GOOD, WHETHER HE THOUGHT IRAN'S NEW RELATIONSHIP WITH INDIA HAD HAD ANY EFFECT ON IRAN'S RELATIONSHIP WITH PAKISTAN. BHUTTO SAID HE WAS

PHILOSOPHICAL ON THIS AND WAS BASICALLY CONFIDENT OF STRENGTH HIS RELATIONS WITH IRAN. HE SAID HE HAD NOT INQUIRED MUCH OF THE SHAH ABOUT LATTER'S "GRAND CONCEPT" OF CUSTOMS UNION IN AREA BUT OBSERVED THAT ANY SUGGESTION FROM THE SHAH IS TAKEN SERIOUSLY BY PAKISTAN. THE SHAH WAS A FRIEND OF PAKISTAN AND HE DID NOT THINK THAT EITHER COUNTRY WOULD LET THE NEW INDIAN RELATIONSHIP WITH IRAN COME IN THE WAY OF THEIR BASIC TIES. HE FORESAW AN ULTIMATE CLASH IN INDIAN-IRANIAN RELATIONS BUT DID NOT INTEND TO LECTURE THE SHAH ON THIS.

7. BHUTTO EMPHASIZED AT SEVERAL POINTS DURING CONVERATION HIS CNFIDENCE IN BASICALLY STRONG US-PAKISTAN RELATIONS, A THEME HE ALSO ELABORATED DURING EVENING BANQUEST TOAST TO SECRETARY. AS HE SAW IT, OTHER RELATIONS TENDED TO GO UP AND DOWN BUT THOSE BETWEEN US AND PAKISTAN ALWAYS REMAINED STEADY OR MOVED UP. THE ONLY TIME THE RELATIONSHIP HAD GONE DOWN IN ANY WAY WAS AS RESULT OF EARLIER "ILLOGICAL" USG POLICY ON CHINA. PAKISTAN RESPECTED ITS RELATIONS WITH US AND WAS PROUD OF IT.
KISSINGER

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